

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7572

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 DUBLIN 208

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR US EI

SUBJ: ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR IRELAND 1976

REF: 75 STATE 191452

1. THE FOLLOWING IS KEYED TO THE TEXT OF 75 STATE 191452 -- THE ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR 1975 PROMULGATED SIX MONTHS AGO. IN GENERAL, WE BELIEVE THAT THE 1975 POLICY PAPER AND 75 DUBLIN 613 FORM A VIABLE FRAMEWORK FOR THS 1976 ASSESSMENT, BUT THAT CERTAIN EMPHASES AND PRIORITIES SHOULD BE RE-EXAMINED AND UPDATED. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO REASSESS THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S. DOMESTIC PRESSURES VIS-A-VIS IRELAND, AND THAT WE TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE IMPLICATIONS, HERE IN IRELAND AND IN THE UNITED STATES, OF THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN THE NORTH. MORE ON THIS BELOW.

2.. UNITED STATES INTERESTS

WE BELIEVE THAT THE FOUR GENERAL US INTERESTS SET FORTH BY THE EMBASSY AND THE DEPARTMENT CONTINUE TO BE VALID, I.E.:

A. ENCOURAGEMENT OF IRISH POLITICAL STABILITY;

B. SUPPORT OF IRISH CONTRIBUTION TO THE US-EC DIALOGUE;

C. PROMOTION OF US ECONOMIC INTERESTS

D. IMPROVEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE US BY IRISH OPINION-MAKERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

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3. UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES

A. UNDER (A) IN THE REFTTEL, THE MAINTENANCE OF IRISH POLITICAL STABILITY, WE SUGGEST THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE POINTS MENTIONED IN 75 STATE 191452, IT SHOULD BE OUR POLICY TO ENCOURAGE AND, WHERE POSSIBLE, FACILITATE VISITS TO THE UNITED STATES OF PROMINENT IRISH MEN AND WOMEN AND TO URGE THEM TO SPEAK OUT PUBLICLY TO THE IRISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AGAINST SUPPORT FOR FRONT ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING TERRORISM.

- ALSO UNDER (A) THE MAINTAINANCE OF STABILITY, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT UNDERTAKE ANOTHER REVIEW OF POSSIBLE GROUNDS FOR VISA REFUSAL TO DENY IRA ACTIVISTS THEIR US PODIUMS FOR FUND RAISING. RELYING ON SECTION 212(A)2 (CF) REQUIRES A DEPARTMENTAL FINDING (FOR REFUSAL) THAT PROSPECTIVE VISITORS TO THE US ARE ADVOCATING, OR ARE MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS ADVOCATING THE DESTRUCTION OF LAWFUL AUTHORITY OR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. THERE ARE A GREAT MANY "CTEAN" IRA SYMPATHIZERS, ALL TOO WILLING TO ENGAGE IN FUND-RAISING, WHO DO NOT COME UNDER THIS SECTION OF THE LAW. THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE CLEARLY AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

- ALSO, UNDER (A) THE MAINTENANCE OF IRISH POLITICAL STABILITY, THE SECOND SUBPARAGRAPH: "...ENCOURAGE THE GOI TO PROVIDE THE USG WITH ANY EVIDENCE IT HAS ON AMERICAN-SUPPORTED IRA ARMS SHIPMENTS" WE SUGGEST THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE (AND THE INTER-AGENCY REVIEW GROUP) TAKE A FIRMER GRASP OF THE THREADS OF INTER-GOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION ON ARMS SMUGGLING AND FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN THE US AND IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH.

- OTHER FACTORS FOR POSSIBLE INCLUSION UNDER (A) STABILITY ARE:

(A) THE NEED TO IMPROVE OUR MACHINERY FOR INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONSULTATION ON THE TECHNICAL SIDE IN IDENTIFYING CONFISCATED TERRORIST ARMS AND IN OTHER TYPES OF ASSISTANCE AND LIAISON IN THIS AREA. AT PRESENT THE GOI SAYS IT IS SATISFIED WITH LIAISON BUT ARE USG LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES SATISFIED? IS THE DEPARTMENT SATISFIED THAT IT IS BEING INFORMED?

(B) THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND HAS DETECTED THAT, AS A RESULT OF US PRESS SCRUTINY OF FUND-Raising AND CASH REMITTANCES TO
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IRELAND AND THE CONSEQUENT UNACCOUNTABILITY, THOSE RESPONSIBLE IN THE US HAVE BEGUN TO USE BANK ACCOUNTS IN IRELAND FOR TRANSFERS RATHER THAN THE TRANSATLANTIC CASH "BAG MAN" WHO HAS BECOME SUSPECT. THE GOI HAS BEGUN A QUIET STUDY OF THESE BANK TRANSFERS WITH A VIEW TO POSSIBLY MONITORING THEM (OR THROUGH LEGISLATION CONTROLLING THEM). GIVEN THE CONSTRAINTS OF THE IRISH BANKING SYSTEM, SUCCESS ON THIS POINT IS DOUBTFUL. DOES THE USG HAVE ANY COOPERATIVE CAPABILITIES TO TRACE THESE REMITTANCES?

(A) AS CONSULATE GENERAL BELFAST HAS RECENTLY REPORTED, TERRORISM AND THE CATASTROPHIC ECONOMIC SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND FEED ON EACH OTHER. HERHAPS WE SHOULD LOOK INTO THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE USG BECOMING MORE ACTIVE IN PROMOTING US INVESTMENT IN

NORTHERN IRELAND. SOME RECENT STATISTICS SEEM TO INDICATE THAT, IRONICALLY, FOREIGN INVESTMENT, PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE DETERIORATED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS.

B. THE IRISH CONTRIBUTION TO US/EC RELATIONS - NO CHANGE RECOMMENDED.

C. PROMOTE US ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN IRELAND - WE RECOMMEND RETAINING THIS SECTION AS IS, BUT PREFACING IT WITH THE FOLLOWING:

THE RECESSION IN IRELAND, ACCOMPANIED BY HIGH RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION, HAS ADVERSELY AFFECTED OVERALL COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY, INCLUDING UNITED STATES TRADE. CURRENT PROJECTIONS FORECAST A SLIGHT UPWARD TREND IN THE ECONOMY LATER IN THE YEAR WHICH SHOULD ASSIST OUR TRADE DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES. IN THE MEANTIME, WE WILL CONTINUE TO ACTIVELY PURSUE TRADE OPPORTUNITIES.

- ALSO, AT THE END OF THIS SECTION, WE RECOMMEND ADDING:

- UTILIZE THE EXPANDED USIS PROGRAM IN PROMOTING ECONOMIC INTERESTS.

D. IRISH UNDERSTANDING OF THE US.

WE RECOMMEND NO BASIC CHANGE TO THIS SECTION, AND WOULD ADD THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE ITEMS CONTAINED THEREIN:

1) INTERNATIONAL VISITORS PROGRAM - WE BELIEVE THAT AN INCREASE
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IN THE INTERNATIONAL VISITOR PROGRAM BUDGET IS JUSTIFIED. PRACTICALLY SPEAKING, HOWEVER, THE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN VERY HELPFUL IN RECENT YEARS AND THE NUMBER OF GRANTS AVAILABLE TO US HAS BEEN AT A LEVEL HIGHER THAN COUNTRIES LARGER THAN IRELAND. IF WE COULD RETAIN THE NUMBER OF GRANTS AT THE PRESENT LEVEL WHILE CONCENTRATING ON A WIDER GEOGRAPHICAL AND PROFESSIONAL DISPERSION TO SELECT THE MOST INFLUENTIAL OPINION-MAKERS POSSIBLE, WE WOULD BE IMPROVING THE USEFULNESS OF THE IV PROGRAM.

2) WITH THE ADVENT OF A FULL PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE IN DUBLIN FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1957, WE ARE IN A POSITION TO AUGMENT THE EMBASSY'S PUBLIC AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS ACTIVITIES. THIS IS BEING DONE IN PART UNDER THE BICENTENNIAL RUBRIC, BUT IT WOULD BE DONE IN ANY CASE AS WE DEVELOP A FULL-FLEDGED PROGRAM TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN IRELAND TOWARD THE US.

3) WE HAVE MADE EXCELLENT PROGRESS IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES IN IRISH UNIVERSITIES AND IN EXTRA-MURAL AND EXTRA-CURRICULAR PROGRAMS. MORE NEEDS TO BE DONE, AND THE PAO IS ACTIVELY EXPLORING WITH THE IRISH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN STUDIES WHAT ROLE THE IRISH ACADEMICS THEMSELVES CAN PLAY IN FUTURE AMERICAN STUDIES.

4) FINALLY, THE PROBLEM OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN IRELAND TOWARD THE US. WE SHOULD NOT CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT IRELAND IS ON AN ANTI-AMERICAN KICK. FOR CENTURIES THE IRISH-AMERICAN CONNECTION HAS BEEN STRONG, AND IT REMAINS SO. PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE ISLAND'S PAST ISOLATION FROM POLITICAL TURMOIL ON THE CONTINENT AND PARTLY BECAUSE OF ITS LOVE-HATE RELATIONSHIP WITH BRITAIN, IRELAND HAS HAD, AND HAS LOOKED TO, THE "TRANS-ATLANTIC CONNECTION." THIS IS NO LONGER SO. NOW, DECISIONS MADE IN BRUSSELS HAVE MORE IMMEDIATE
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EFFECT ON IRISH LIFE THAN DECISIONS MADE IN WASHINGTON. AS THE IRISH HORIZONS HAVE BROADENED, AND AS THE IRISH ESTABLISH SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTACTS IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE, THEIR VIEW OF AND CONTACTS WITH THE UNITED STATES DIMINISH IN IMPORTANCE - OR ARE AT LEAST DILUTED AND DEFLECTED BY THEIR NEW CONNECTIONS. WE NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT REALISTICALLY AMERICA IS A LEADER IN INTELLECTUAL THOUGHT, IN FOREIGN POLICY, IN INNOVATIVE SCIENCE AND MEDICAL RESEARCH, AND IN SOCIAL PROGRESS.

E. IRISH TIES WITH THE WEST -

THE FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THIS SECTION ARE SATISFACTORY, THOUGH POSSIBLY TOO VAGUE AND GENERAL. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE THIRD PARAGRAPH REPRESENTS A DESIRABLE USG OBJECTIVE. THE IRISH HAVE SUCH STRONG HISTORICAL OBJECTIONS TO JOINING NATO THAT IT IS NOT FEASIBLE EVEN TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH THEM. THEY REALIZE THAT THEY MAY HAVE TO COMMIT THEMSELVES SOME DAY TO A EUROPEAN DEFENSE OF THEIR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, BASED ON THE EC FRAMEWORK. THE DEFENSE ATTACHE BELIEVES THAT PRESSURES WILL MOUNT ON THE GOI OVER THE COURSE OF THE NEXT TEN YEARS TO AT LEAST PARTICIPATE IN CONTINGENCY PLANNING IN THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE CONTEXT. IT WOULD NOT, WE BELIEVE, BE IN OUR INTEREST TO ENCOURAGE THESE THOUGHTS SINCE THIS WOULD MERELY PUT THE IRISH IN THE FRENCH ORBIT IN SUCH THINKING AND WOULD WORK TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF AN ATLANTIC DEFENSE SYSTEM.

F. WE SUGGEST THAT A NEW SECTION BE ADDED WHICH REFLECTS THE REALITIES OF MUCH OF OUR DAY-TO-DAY BILATERAL RELATIONS, I.E. IT SHOULD BE OUR OBJECTIVE TO URGE, ENCOURAGE, AND PERSUADE THE IRISH TO TAKE POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL FORA SUCH AS THE UN AND EC WHICH ARE NOT IN CONFLICT WITH USG POSITIONS.

4. REPORT CARD

A. POLITICAL STABILITY - IT WAS A BAD YEAR IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT ON THE FESTERING SITUATION THERE. WHAT CONTRIBUTION THE U.S. HAS MADE IS A DESTABILIZING FACTOR: THE CONTINUING FLOW OF GUNS AND MONEY TO TERRORISTS. ALTHOUGH THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAS WORKED HARD AND SUCCEEDED IN GETTING INDICTMENTS FOR ARMS SMUGGLING, I BELIEVE WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS. I SENSE A PROBLEM OF COORDINATION IN THIS EFFORT, AND
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WOULD LIKE TO SEE A HIGHER DEGREE OF COOPERATION AMONG WASHINGTON, DUBLIN AND LONDON ON THIS PROBLEM.

B. U.S. - EC RELATIONS

FROM ALL INDICATIONS, WE CAN BE SATISFIED WITH OUR CONSULTATION PROCESS DURING THE IRISH EC PRESIDENCY, JANUARY-JUNE 1975. CONSULTATION ON EC MATTERS REMAINS VERY EFFECTIVE, AND I EXPECT THIS PROCESS TO IMPROVE DURING THE COMING YEAR.

C. U.S. ECONOMIC INTERESTS

THE US SHARE OF THE IRISH MARKET SLIGHTLY DECREASED DURING 1975 AS IRELAND TURNED MORE TO ITS EC PARTNERS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE TRADE OPPORTUNITIES VIGOROUSLY, BUT WE DO NOT FEEL THAT THE

SLIGHT DROPOFF IS A MATTER OF CONCERN, CONSIDERING OUR OVERALL TRADE SURPLUS WITH THE EC.

D. SINCE OUR NEWLY INSTALLED USIS PROGRAM IS JUST GETTING ORGANIZED, AND SINCE WE HAVE NOT YET WRITTEN A USIS COUNTRY PLAN, IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO ATTEMPT TO ASSESS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INFORMATION PROGRAM.

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FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7574

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E. CULTIVATE IRISH TIES WITH THE WEST

THIS IS HARDLY DISTINGUISHABLE FROM IRISH-EC RELATIONS AND US-EC RELATIONS; MUCH OF IRISH FOREIGN POLICY IS NOW BASED UPON EITHER AN AGREED EC POSITION OR IRELAND'S READING OF THE MAJORITY IN THE EC. FROM ALL REPORTS THE IRISH SELDOM GET OUT FRONT IN SUCH AREAS AS, FOR EXAMPLE, UN VOTES ON THE MIDDLE EAST. THUS, FOR THE RECORD, SINCE EC POLITICAL COOPERATION SLIGHTLY ADVANCED IN 1975, SO DID IRELAND'S TIES TO THE WEST. IRELAND IS CERTAINLY PART OF THE WESTERN BLOC NOW IN ALL BUT OFFICIAL NAME, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT YET AT THE POINT OF ABANDONING ITS HISTORICALLY IMPOSED NEUTRALITY.

5. WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? GENERAL COMMENTS.

IN READING THE US INTERESTS AND POLICY OBJECTIVES FOR 1975, I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE HAVE NOT ACHIEVED QUITE THE CORRECT BALANCE OF EMPHASES, ALTHOUGH I CANNOT OBJECT TO ANY SINGLE PART OF THE ASSESSMENT. WE HAVE MAINLY ASSESSED IRELAND AS A STATE WHOSE PRIME IMPORTANCE TO US IS ITS NEW EC RELATIONSHIP AND ITS ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE US. THESE FACTORS ARE, OF COURSE, IMPORTANT IF WE PUT THEM IN PERSPECTIVE. ALTHOUGH A SMALL COUNTRY AND THE POOREST OF THE NINE, IRELAND'S GNP OF \$5.8 BILLION IS CERTAINLY NOT INSIGNIFICANT IN THE LIST OF THE WORLD'S

COUNTRIES. FURTHERMORE ITS EC MEMBERSHIP AND ITS ACTIVE UN ROLE MAKE IT OF MORE THAN USUAL SIGNIFICANCE TO US. HOWEVER, BEYOND THESE BASIC FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS, THERE ARE AT LEAST TWO OTHER FACTORS WHICH MAKE IRELAND PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO US: ONE, THE DOMESTIC PRESSURE OF ALMOST 20 MILLION IRISH AMERICANS; AND TWO, THE FOCUS OF THIS PRESSURE, I.E. THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHICH IS SO FILLED WITH DANGERS TO OUR BASIC INTERESTS. IN THE SECURITY SPHERE ALONE, THE NORTHERN IRELAND
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SITUATION (WITH ITS LINKS TO DEVOLUTION, ETC.) COULD LEAD TO A WEAKENING OF THE UK ITSELF - AND THAT COULD HAVE A SERIOUS EFFECT UPON NATO DEFENSE. IF REAL CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT IN NORTHERN IRELAND, WE MUST FACE THE FACT THAT WE WILL HAVE MASSIVE DOMESTIC PRESSURE TO INTERVENE, AND I BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME WE BEGAN TO ASSESS MORE ACTIVELY OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SITUATION. I APPLAUD THE EFFORTS OF THE INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE WHICH IS ATTEMPTING TO GRAPPLE WITH THIS PROBLEM, AND HOPE THAT WE COULD ALL WORK ON IT WITH A GREATER SENSE OF URGENCY. WE HAVE, I BELIEVE, TREATED THIS CRISIS SO FAR AS IF IT DID NOT EXIST; WE HAVE WISHED THAT IT WOULD GO AWAY, AND MAY HAVE BRUSHED IT OFF BECAUSE IT DID NOT SEEM TO AFFECT BASIC US INTERESTS. CAN WE AFFORD SUCH AN ATTITUDE?

THE ABOVE VIEW DOES NOT LEAD UP TO ANY VIABLE SUGGESTION FOR A POSITIVE USG ROLE IN THE NORTHERN IRELAND SITUATION DURING THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. WE MUST REALIZE THE LIMITS OF OUR POWERS AND POSSIBILITIES. WE CAN AND SHOULD DO CERTAIN THINGS, HOWEVER.

(A) GIVE HIGH PRIORITY, AND HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION, TO THE INTER-AGENCY GROUP WHICH WAS MENTIONED IN THE 1975 POLICY PAPER (REFTEL, PARA 4A).

(B) TAKE A HARD LOOK AT THE PROBLEM OF REMITTANCE OF FUNDS TO TERRORISTS - FROM THE WITTING AND UNWITTING SUPPORTERS OF BOTH THE PROVOS AND TO A CERTAIN EXTENT THE PROTESTANT PARAMILITARIES. TO MY KNOWLEDGE NO TEE HAS EVEN BEGUN TO DRAFT A LAW CONCERNING REMITTANCE OF FUNDS ABROAD FOR PURPOSES AGAINST OUR INTERESTS. I BELIEVE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NORAIID SUPPORTERS IN CONGRESS ARE FEWER THAN SUPPOSED, AND THAT CONGRESSIONAL REACTION TO THE REALITIES WOULD BE POSITIVE. ALSO, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL DENUNCIATION OF FUND-RAISING BY THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE USG. WE SHOULD CONSIDER GOING MORE EXPLICITLY ON RECORD AGAINST THIS PRACTICE WHICH IS DIRECTLY CAUSING THE DEATHS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE, WHICH IS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO THE CONTINUING CRISIS, AND WHICH IS SO DEPLORED BY ALL BUT A HANDFUL OF THE IRISH PEOPLE, NORTH AND SOUTH.

6. PARA 7 OF REFTEL A SUGGESTS WE COMMENT ON RESOURCES

ALLOCATIONS. I HAVE TWO COMMENTS. FIRST, OUR NEW USIS POST

SEEMS TO BE FUNCTIONING WELL AT ITS INCREASED LEVEL OF
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FUNDING BUT IT HAS BEEN OPERATING FOR ONLY SIX MONTHS, TOO SHORT
A PERIOD TO PERMIT A JUDGMENT ON THE ADEQUACY OF RESOURCES
AVAILABLE. I SUGGEST THAT THIS BECOME PART OF AN ONGOING
DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE POST AND WASHINGTON AGENCIES INVOLVED.
SECOND, AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, THE POLITICAL OFFICER'S
AMERICAN SECRETARY POSITION HAS BEEN ABOLISHEDX. I
RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO THIS STEP BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THE SERIOUS
PROBLEM THE DEPARTMENT FACES IN WORLDWIDE POSITION RE-ALLOCATION.
I WAS LATER INFORMED THAT THE POLITICAL OFFICER POSITION WAS SCHEDULED

TO BE ABOLISHED IN 1977. I WANT TO RECORD MY STRONG OPPOSITION
TO THIS PROPOSAL, AS I DID DURING CONVERSATIONS AT THE CHIEFS OF
MISSION MEETING IN LONDON, AND BY CORRESPONDENCE TO THE DEPARTMENT.
IRELAND IS OF CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES.
NORTHERN IRELAND IS A PROBLEM AFFECTING TWO OLD FRIENDS OF THE
UNITED STATES. THE POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS OF DUBLIN, BELFAST
AND LONDON MUST BE CONSTANTLY WATCHED, REPORTED, AND ASSESSED IN
DETERMINING OUR OWN POLICY. LEAVING THIS POST WITHOUT A POLITICAL
SECTION WOULD SERIOUSLY DIMINISH THE CURRENT FLOW OF VITAL
INFORMATION TO WASHINGTON. I HOPE YOU AGREE THAT, IN A SITUATION
THAT IS SO POLITICALLY SENSITIZED AND VOLITILE, THE
ELIMINATION OF THE POLITICAL OFFICERS' POSITION WOULD BE
DETRIMENTAL TO OUR INTERESTS. CURLEY

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